agenda

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Wine stains the verse; the curse of time obliterates the arrogant line.

Then, in Verona, Campesani knows the 'Roman hand': "One woman could command this song."

He sang, and fourteen hundred years later, it reappears—

in the barrel's bung (the hand that Campesani knows) codex from wine-bung springing, as from the dung,

-the rose.
PETER WHIGHAM.

Against a general background of intellectual decay certain signs of life, however disparate, seem worth noticing in this twelth issue of AGENDA.

There is evidence of some worthwhile political thought in the first of the New Left Books: "Out of Apathy" (Stevens, 15s.) as there is also in the "New Left Review". A vital political party could be built on the basis of the new socialism evident in New Left circles if linked to the English heritage of Coke on the Magna Carta and Blackstone coupled with the best aspects of old fashioned liberalism. It would have to be prepared to correlate and compare scientifically the best and solid elements in English history and the political systems of other countries both past and present without regard to labels created by the falsifications of propaganda.

There is an urgent need for the republication of Coke's

seventy pages on the Magna Carta.

The "X Review" is the best literary periodical in circulation at present: their series "Poets on Poetry" has contained valuable material: everyone should read the article by Hugh

MacDiarmid in their second issue,

"The Invisible Poet" (W. H. Allen, 30s.) by Hugh Kenner is really constructive criticism: the most considerable book on T. S. Eliot unlike the majority of critical works it should be read by anyone actively interested in practicing the art of poetry.

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CATULLUS

A Selection from a New Version by PETER WHIGHAM

XXXI

Apple of islands, Sirmio, & bright peninsulas, set in our soft-flowing lakes or in the folds of ocean, with what delight delivered (safe & sound)

from Thynia

from Bithynia

you flash incredibly upon the darling eye. What happier thought

than to disolve

the mind of cares

the limbs from sojourning, and to accept the down of one's own bed under one's own roof
—held so long at heart...

and that one moment paying for all the rest.

So, Sirmio, with a woman's loveliness, gladly echoing Garda's rippling lake-laughter, and, laughing there, Catullus' house

catching the brilliant echoes!

XXXIV

Moving in her radiant care chaste men and girls moving wholly in Diana's care hymn her in this.

Latonia's daughter, greatest of the Olympian race, dropped at birth beneath the olive trees on Delian hills,

alive over mountain passes,
over green glades and
sequestered glens,
—in the talkative burn,

Juno Lucina in the groans of parturition, Hecat, fear ful at crossed ways, the nymph of false moonlight. You whose menstrual course divides our year, stuff the farmer's harvest barn with harvesting.

Sacred, by whatever name invoked in whatever phase you wear, turn upon our Roman brood, of old your shielding look.

LV

Where

if it's not too much to ask are you hiding,

Camerius?

I've searched for you in the circus in the parks

among the bookstalls even in Church (!)

I have accosted on Pompey's Broadway

tart after tart

meeting

as you would expect
with a succession of blank looks.
"Where's Camerius, you low-down whores?"
One opens her bodice,
"You could find him between these pink tits
if you looked."

A job I reflected, for Hercules.

Why, Camerius why arrogate to yourself this scarcity value?...

If I were Europa's bronze jailer doing my rounds in Crete, if I were fleet Ladas

or feather-footed Perseus, if I rode the sky like Pegasus or with the dazzling swiftness of Rhesus' team,—supposing I had the sandals of all the winds I should still find myself sapped dry eaten with fatigue

looking for you,

'friend'.

Come, Camerius, out with it bare your precious secret to the day where are we likely to find you? who are these girls

pliant as cream

who detain you?

Remember,
to keep the tongue locked in the mouth
is to reject love's seasoning:
love-talk enhances love-acts.
Alternatively,

if you want to,

bolt up your mouth...

divulge to Catullus the whereabouts of this amour, so we may share her.

LXII

Young Men
Gather young men as the twilight gathers
Vesper gleams faintly in heaven
it is time to bestir

time to abandon the wedding tables for the bride comes through the dusk it is time for the bride-hymn.

Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Maidens

Watch where the young men gather by the porch-doors face them while Vesper hangs fire over Thessaly they are gathering quickly

intent on their song on contesting the bride-song with us

response versus response.

Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Young Men

Here is no palm for the asking

observe these

young girls conferring together with girlish seriousness their care

a sole-minded intensity

must

produce the worth while

while we

distracted

deserve our defeat

with only an ear for the song

: success waits on devotion.

Come! bend minds

to the business

girls flower in song man makes response. Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Maidens

What flame glows more pitilessly in heaven than yours Vesper:

under your gaze

the daughter wrenched from her mother's clasp from the mother's clasp

twined there

torn apart her maidenhead placed under a young man's burning hand: what jackbooting of lost cities

pitiless as such an act? Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Young Men

What flames shines more resplendently in heaven than yours Vesper:

under your sign the marriage bond is sealed the young man's troth

the father's pledge

is effected

in your ardour the consummation is joined: what hour from the gods

resplendent as such an hour?
Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Maidens

Vesper has bereft us of one....

Young Men

With your rising

the night watchman guards against furtive lovers on the prowl by night whom you as Lucifer

may disconcertingly discover

still at their thefts for maidens' acts belie their mock complaints affecting aversion for what they most desire.

Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Maidens

When withdrawn in some walled garden

a rose blooms

safe from the farm plough

from farm beasts

strong under sun

fresh in light-free air

sprouting in rain showers that rose is beauty's paragon for man or woman's pleasure, but once the bud has blown

—when the thin stalk is left no paragon remains for man or woman's pleasure so, intact

a girl stays treasured of her sex but let her lose her maidenhead

her close petals once polluted she cannot give the same delight again to men

no longer be the cynosure of virgins. Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Young Men

When in an open field

unyoked a vine droops

no vine-limbs shake to the wind

no ripe grape-clusters sprout

there the soft plant stoops under its own weight

the vine-tips flop to their roots

that vine no hind nor husbandman will husband, but yoke her to her elm-pole mate

and hinds & husbandmen in droves will husband her so, intact

a girl grows withered in her sex but yoke her to her mate in her ripe season she will yield her parents ease

she will yield delight to men.

Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

Young Men & Maidens
Resign as your father resigns you to this man
History has become a complicated gadget for the collection of
strength lies in surrender

father & mother in concert

resign you incline to their will

remember your

own maidenhead is not truly your own

one part to your father

one to your mother

only a third to yourself

incline then to their will & consign

your share as they theirs

with the bride-gift,

to this man.

in wedlock. Hymen Hymenaeus attend o Hymen!

CIVILIZATION AND LOCAL SOVEREIGNTY

by NOEL STOCK

It is advisable for anyone wanting to conserve a tradition or a 'way of life' first of all to do some stocktaking to discover precisely what it is they wish to conserve. One reason, the main reason perhaps, why sincere apologists of 'free enterprise' have had so little success is that they have not properly defined 'free enterprise' and have in fact allowed—not even allowed, have never even recognised it as something distinct from another and in many ways opposed type of mercantilism which has long since usurped that convenient label. And so, using a false terminology which they found already prepared for them, and to which a misleading selection of historical so-called 'facts' had been firmly attached, these apologists have failed to distinguish two types of mercantilism: one, a mercantilism of personal probity with responsibility to a definite locality; and the other, an international mercantilism, responsible, in the end, only to itself.

I do not wish to push this distinction too far, as there is certainly some overlapping, nor do I wish to make excessive claims for the mercantilism of personal probity, the faults of which are recorded in accessible history; but that aspect of it especially relevant to today is the fact that it existed as something visible, something everybody could see, operating within a context over which the participants had some sort of control. It was a context in which personal probity was possible as something positive and not just as a negative withdrawal. It was not an unlimited 'free enterprise', but 'free enterprise' within the bounds of reason and commonsense, as those terms were understood in the 18th century; it was the same to which John Adams referred when he said it was very unmercantile to do business on borrowed capital.

International mercantilism on the other hand, which is firmly convinced of its own super-sovereignty, has no definite locality, in any organic sense, and consists largely in the right to do business anywhere, anytime, but even more to say what is good for "all men" and to force societies to follow its own blueprint. It operates within a context so enormous and complex as to render personal probity, in the positive sense, an impossibility, and its history is one of continual evasion of personal responsibility by means of corporative, joint-stock and other devices. This mercantilism is visible from at least the time of the Tudor goldsmith, Sir Thomas Gresham who was agent for Dutch finance and responsible more than any other man, except perhaps Charles II, for the introduction of the worst aspects of international mercantilism into England. Gresham began the process by forcing a reform of the coinage in the 16th century which linked England to the international system; Charles threw the way open to its fulfillment by his coinage legislation of 1666-67.

It should be made clear at this point that doing business on an international scale is not necessarily the same thing as international mercantilism. The Alberti family of Florence. and later the Medici, were bankers and businessmen who had dealings in many parts of the world; but they remained Florentines; their money was used to glorify Florence, not by a dumping of large sums for spectacular effect, but by the employment of the best living artists and librarians for the establishment, in Florence, of a cultural vortex which attempted to discriminate and draw to itself the best the world had to offer. It was a civic or 'parochial' culture but it was guided by international criteria and itself established criteria to guide the rest of the world. This culture of international criteria must not be confused with today's culural internationalism, close brother of international mercantilism, which fears the perfection of great art because great art can be achieved only by the intractable few.

II

In the past great literature has been used (as L. R. Lind said of Latin poetry) to express "the facts of some branch of learning or information." The tragedy of our culture has been the separation of monetary knowledge from general literary culture. Not only has literature suffered, but montary history as well. The branch of learning called Economic History has become a complicated gadget for the collection of 'proof' that 'great progress' has taken place, is taking place, and will continue to take place so long as we continue to ignore such purely literary considerations as quality and

perfection of design and form. The past is made to conform to ideas and terminology manufactured under the influence of international mercantilism, and where it cannot be made

to conform, then it is 'wrong'.

Perhaps the greatest single loss caused by the clichés of international mercantilism has been the loss of the knowledge that a long line of divergent thinkers struggled during several thousand years towards a common ground, namely clarification of the idea of an efficient mechanism of exchange compatible with Justice. The Christian maxim that the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath, was understood in relation to particular application in the Greece of Aristotle, and in China earlier still. Aristotle saw that the true purpose of an economic system is to facilitate the exchange of goods and services as smoothly and equitably as possible; and that goods and services do not, or should not, exist to facilitate the buying and selling of money. He saw money as governed by law and subject to the will of man. The same urge towards clarification of this matter is visible in Cicero and St. Ambrose of Milan; in a number of Roman and Byzantine emperors and historians; we find it in the troubadour Piere Cardinal. in Dante, and in Shakespeare. It is present in a long line of more recent thinkers whose differences have been served up in abundance, as their essential unity in struggling towards this common ground has not. Such thinkers as Swift (Examiner, 1710), Voltaire, Berkeley (Querist, 1750), Hume (Political Discourses, 1752), Samuel Johnson, Franklin. Adams, Jefferson, Gibbon, Shelley, Cobbett, Ruskin, etc. Marlowe when he wrote "Base bullion for the stampes sake we allow," was condensing into ten syllables a good deal of past history which since his time has been all but lost in the welter of bullionist theories and their offspring. Useful historical data is also to be found in Pope:

Blest paper credit, last and best supply!
That lends corruption lighter wings to fly!
Gold imp'd by thee can compass hardest things,
Can pocket states, can fetch or carry kings

Nowadays with most education and channels of communication tending to bolster the present system, one hesitates to put forward the suggestion that something valuable has been lost which was highly regarded by many of the men whose observations and refining of knowledge built the basis upon which our world rests. In accepting today's material sciences, for instance, we accept the great pioneer work of medieval scientists like St. Albertus and Grosseteste. And yet we reject without even casual examination the work of these same men whenever it relates to economics or ethics or even remotely impinges on our mercantile habits. The idea of mercantilism of personal probity was strong in the American colonies and early United States and was carried into national policy by a number of presidents: Adams, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, Polk, Lincoln and Johnson. It is entirely appropriate to our age of 'brainwashing' that Andrew Jackson who spent his life attempting to preserve the concrete elements of local and national sovereignty has been served up in our day as a sort of symbol of the new Deal. The image of Lincoln the country hick has unfortunately overshadowed that other Lincoln, who, in his Fourth Annual Message, a few months before his death, suggested a scheme for spreading the national debt among ordinary people.

It is a tragic fact that if people do not look after their national history, they will lose it, one way or another.

In his Fluctuations of Gold (1838), Alexander Von Humboldt warned that the world's supply of gold could not possibly keep pace with the needs of humans and of commerce, but people were in no mood for scientific exactitudes which called for the exercise of monetary intelligence. In Prussia, Von Schultz raised a voice in favour of national independence outside the international system, as did Sir William Harcourt, in England; but to no avail. International mercantilism achieved final victory with the war of 1914, after a series of surreptitious currency alterations in various countries during the second half of the 19th and early 20th century.

Since 1914 the fight between 'free enterprise' and 'government control' has been very largely a sham fight and has served to bamboozle further, an already bamboozled public. The Great Depression and New Deal placed this struggle permanently upon the national and international stage—two errors at one another's throats, out of which no good can

possibly come.

It should be remembered that international mercantilism has contributed little or nothing to the sum of human knowledge. The machines it uses, and all its key ideas, are the products of a cultural struggle lasting thousands of years. Its enormous material power lies simply in the correlation of machines the basic components of which were invented and developed during an earlier period. International mercantilism is, in fact, a parasite, living almost entirely upon

Against this 'controlled chaos' (under which, for example, the Belgian government was forced in recent years to borrow Belgian money in New York, to the advantage of neither the people of Belgium nor of the United States) the salvation of what is left of 'western civilization' would seem to me to require some restoration of the mercantilism of personal probity; some system under which it would again be possible for a definite locality to maintain local sovereignty in local affairs by the control of purchasing-power needed for local purposes.

The cost of a set of Agenda (1-12) is 7/6d., in U.S.A. \$1.50. Agenda No. 1 includes

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Henry Swabey: Note on Coke etc. Editorial statement of policy.

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Charles Martell: Financial Reform.

Major-General J. F. C. Fuller: From a letter to the editor on taxation.

Edmund Gray: Planning Today.

Agenda No. 3

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J. V.: Organic Categories.

A note on education.

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Poetry Issue containing poems by: Ronald Duncan, Mandelshtam, Alan Neame, Simon Orme, Noel Stock.

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Noel Stock: Where We Have Got To (Part II).

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(First enlarged 8 page issue with cover)

William Carlos Williams: The Painting (Poem).

Ronald Duncan: Extracts from Judas (Poem).

David M. Gordon: The Cyclops - Ideogram.

Osip Mandelshtam: Leningrad translated by P. Russell.

Agenda No. 11

Noel Stock: A Poet's Life and Context (Long poem). Other poems by Donald Hall and Peter Whigham.).

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